342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
• 231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

• 231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [437] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[973] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
231 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on
the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but
among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as
though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

174 231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waikâ, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235
[439]
[197] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacarí --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacarí.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[191] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also men-
[825] tion that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a mem-
[262] ber of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

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171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

• 231
[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

276

11. Luxuries

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] [824] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

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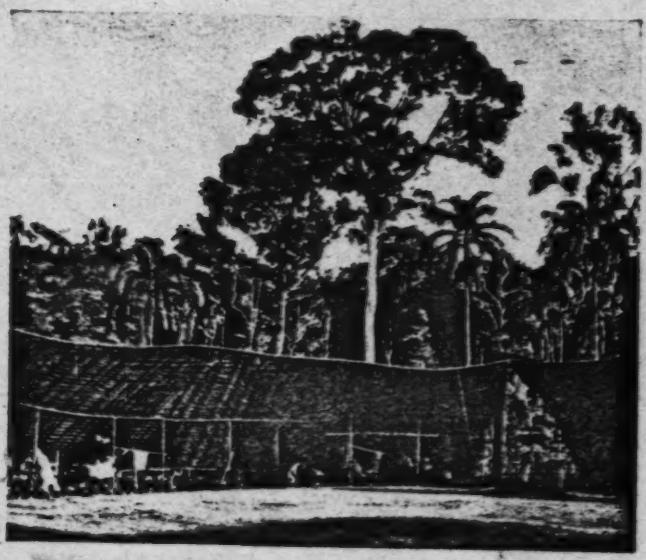
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

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Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

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854
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Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] [648] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

● 231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póliawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *ebrate*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man. Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Moné pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracosa river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

• [231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karashi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karashi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karashi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwashi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwashi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trurtk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [272] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-5. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

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The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

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Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and sallies forth with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the